776 appeased, exorcised. When the priest of Velykyi Lypnyk consecrates the water of the village brook on the sixth of January, the people believe that the demons are thus driven away.

326 The men of Valykyi Lypnyk are tinkers, a
221 trade which in many places has a bad flavor. It is easy to say that they travel about the country like gypsies. But even though they wander from village to village, a small bundle of tools on their backs, repairing stoves and mending pots, they are, nevertheless, not homeless. As soon as spring comes, poverty drives them out on the road, and only late in the fall when the first white flakes begin to fall, they return to their wives and children with the few groschen they have saved.
241 For land is scarce, the clod of earth small, the soil is poor and the climate harsh.* The women work like drudges for their bit of barley bread and potatoes. With their small cows and a wooden plough they till the lower slopes of the mountain ridges. They sow by hand, harrow, and in the fall they cut off the barely ripe ears of grain with a sickle.
286 In their "spare time" these women with their
291 strangely narrow faces sit barefoot in their full pleated skirts and pale pink blouses, a charming little cap on their heads, at their looms and tirelessly ply their shuttle back and forth between the taut threads, or press wool into felt for the jackets and trousers of their husbands.
342 The rooms of these "tinkers"* are surprisingly large and clean; the kitchen, living room, /10/ bedroom and work room are all in one. The whole structure with adjoining stable and wagon shed is built of wood, the inside unfinished, the outside [989] covered with loam. In order that there be no lack of magic, carpenters carve three suns into the central roof beam.

184 How rich these "tinkers" of East Slovakia were with their little plot of free earth, their two or three cows, their barley bread and their loom, compared to their brothers in Carpatho-

*[In the village of Valykyi Lypnyk, Western Ukraine -Analyst]

The Living faith of pagan times occupies
among the people, a position which is equal with the Christian belief. The Orthodox Church, doubtless recognizing how deeply rooted the popular customs are, has tried to reconcile the two.

769 The ancestor cult is particularly important. The Ukrainian people entertain their ancestors on Christmas Eve. The table is set and the whole family are seated at it. Only a few seats are unoccupied - for the ancestors. Their bowls are filled with the traditional Christmas food: cooked wheat with honey and poppy, cooked fish and a cooked fruit mixture. "Little Father Frost" is also invited on Christmas Eve by the master of the house. The peasant steps in front of his house and calls: "Frost, frost, come and have supper with us!" Every guest, even the beggar, is welcome on Christmas Eve, for he might be an ancestor or Father Frost whom even the priest does not forget specially to invite. Hay is laid under the tablecloth on the nights around the winter solstice, for all green things /138/ drive away the evil spirits. The place of honor in the house belongs to the "grandfather", a sheaf of grain, symbolizing the ancestor. In the twelve magical nights between Christmas Eve and the Three Kings the famous koliad, pagan songs about the solstice, with a Christian flavor, exorcise all evil. Jesus Christ, Dazhdboh the sun god, and the Virgin Mary, all three are conjured up in one and the same song, in order to protect these worthy Christians.

529 789 The carnival belongs to the women; the men have nothing to do with it, although on other occasions they do not scorn merry revels. On a Monday morning the married women of the village gather in the pub in order to begin a week of jolly drinking. This, too, of course, cannot pass without magic. The sorcery revolves about the "koloda", a stick which symbolizes a child. It is wound with tow and is now "born". The women congratulate each other on the "birth" with horilka,

527 789 grain whiskey. The revelry lasts all week just as in the case of a real birth.

527 971 769 The spring festival, the resurrection of nature, has for a long time coincided with the Christian Easter, the resurrection of the Lord, and the burial of Christ with the burial of winter. On Easter Sunday the Christian service and the pagan cult complement each other in a strange way. Scarcely has the priest prayed for the blessing of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost to descend upon his congregation, when the women join hands and dance around the church. It is a custom dating from ancient times to announce to the ancestor the beginning of field work at the spring festival, so that he can give them help and support. "Oh, ancestor!" the women sing on this occasion, "we plow the field, oh ancestor, we announce to you that we plow, that we sow, that we reap!" (82)

82. According to a verbal communication of the Ukrainian ethnographer and archaeologist V. Shcherbakivskyj, Prague.

789 527 The custom of "plowing-under", observed even before the First World War in East Ukraine when the field work begins, is probably unique. Again it is the women who, stark naked, exorcise the magic forces /139/ by drawing a plow over the nocturnal fields, and furrowing the earth amid a great deal of noise. Woe to the man who might eavesdrop on this grandiose fertility rite! The mischief-maker would have to pay dearly for it. (83) The drinking bout which the naked peasant

83. Zelenin: Russian (East Slavic) Folk Studies.

women celebrate near the church after they have finished their magic rite is called 'lightning".

533 These are the same women who sing the lovely Ukrainian songs while they are working in the fields in spring and summer; for the Ukrainian be-

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MAGICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES AMONG THE GALICIAN UKRAINIANS[1]

PART I

The Black Art and its Representatives

771 To the inhabitants of the plains and plateaus and the majestic-
737 ally rising Carpathians of Southern Poland—the Galician Ukrainian—life in its manifold aspects is pervaded by a mul-

101 [1] The Galician Ukrainians, also known as Ruthenians, are Eastern Slavs, and constitute a branch of the numerous Ukrainian, or Little

titude of mysterious, evil forces which he endeavours either to ally himself with, propitiate, or combat in order to assure himself of good luck or avert the many calamities which these supernatural powers may bring. Magical beliefs and practices are therefore widespread and deeply rooted among the people. Even where the church has opposed and tried to counteract the older notions and usages, its success has been at best only partial. What it often has effected was a change in form, or the substitution of an authorized rite for an ancient magical practice.[2] The priest, for example, sometimes takes the place of the sorcerer by holding a special midnight Mass, the *czorna służba* (black service), at the instigation of a person who wishes to harm an enemy.[3] At other times he acts as medicine man, e.g. by stepping over the back of an ailing parishioner in order to relieve his backache.[4] A case of substitution is noticeable in the rite observed before moving into a newly constructed house. Wherever the old practices of sacrificing a black rooster, as an offering to the Devil or as a preventive against disease, has become extinct, its equivalent has appeared in the solemn consecration of the house by the priest.[5]

Among the Ukrainians, as elsewhere, magical beliefs and practices have two main aspects, which may be termed respectively the black and white arts. While the former has its prime source in the arch enemy of man, the Devil, the latter, which functions mainly to counteract evil influences, relies on some powerful medium, sometimes God himself, to neutralize or overcome the

Russian, people inhabiting South Russia. They occupy the eastern section of the former Austrian province of Galicia, which is at present part of Poland. They number approximately 3,000,000 and belong almost exclusively to the peasant class. Geographically, and to a certain extent also culturally, they may be divided into lowlanders and highlanders, the former inhabiting the plains to the north and the latter the Carpathian mountains to the south.

[2] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

[3] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Kuzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 277.

[4] Kaindl, R. F. "Neue Beitraege zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der Huzulen," *Globus*, lxix, 71.

[5] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 282.

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forces of evil. The agents of the former include the witch and the wizard; and those of the latter, the fortune-teller, the soothsayer, the conjuror, and, in cases of sickness, the healer. Between these two groups of "professional" intermediaries between the supernatural and natural worlds stands the ordinary non-professional man or woman, who, by using certain formulas or more concrete means, can also invoke superhuman intervention.

A person associated with powers of evil, though difficult or impossible to recognize by ordinary means, since he usually looks exactly like any other human being, can be singled out much more easily by his actions, and especially by the results he is supposed to obtain. Thus a successful person, it is thought, is necessarily allied in one way or another with the Devil, or his assistants. A man who has luck in hunting or fishing is undoubtedly in communication with the Devil.[6] A woman who repeatedly returns from the woods with her basket full of mushrooms, or whose cow continuously yields more than an average quantity of milk, is nothing but a witch who is using her unholy powers to her own profit and, usually, also the detriment of her neighbours.[7] Indeed, there is not a wealthy or successful person in the village or town who is not in league with the Devil.[8] A peasant, therefore, who has luck with his crops and cattle most likely receives help from evil spirits, and a manufacturer who makes money from his factory in town does so because he has demons to work for him.[9] Thus, although there exist special means of detection, which, as we shall see, are made use of when necessary, mere good fortune is the simplest criterion.

Among individuals occupied with the black art, the witch (*widma*) wields by far the greatest power.[10] Just as after death she becomes the most feared of evil spirits, so during her life she is considered the most dangerous of the Devil's disciples. The

[6] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 12.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 114. [8] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 229, 232.

[9] Onyščuk, A. "Materyaly do huculskoi demonologii," *Materyaly do Ukrainskoi Etnologii* (Lviw, 1909), xi, 73.

[10] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280.

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country on the other side has plenty while there is starvation at home.[24] Witches are also held responsible for hails, storms, floods and drought.[25]

The commonest speciality of witches, however, is the bewitching or drying up of cows. The methods and means employed are many. Some believe that the *widma* simply milks the cow once in the usual way. Others assert that she takes some milk from the victimized cow, especially on the eve of St. George or St. John, and with it smears the teats of her own cow, which then gives milk in abundance while the udder of the bewitched animal dries up or yields only blood. According to some, the witch need not even actually touch or see the cow she wishes to charm; she has only to think of a particular animal to receive her milk which in such a case flows from a door post, table, bench, or other object in the house.[26] Hence a witch does not actually have to possess a cow in order to have milk. "Marusia of Ispas never had a cow, but nevertheless always enjoyed an abundant supply of milk, and even had enough to sell; this astounded the people greatly until Petro Hyrak once came to her and found her milking a board."[27]

Although hated and despised, a witch must never be openly insulted or mistreated. In mentioning a witch, one should always append a curse, such as: "May she disappear"; "May the Devil stand between her eyes and the bear between her shoulders."[28]

The wizard (*opyr*), although as harmful as his female counterpart, is considered lower in rank and is, in general, less frequently encountered.[29] He is even forced to serve the witch, e.g. as the steed on which she rides to her meetings, but he has the power to counteract any harm she may intend to do him.

[24] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 232-3.

[25] Kaindl, R. F. "Wetterzauberei bei den Rutenen und Huzulen," *Mittheilungen der k.k. geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxxvii, 637.

[26] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 254.

[27] Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 128.

[28] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 231.

[29] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 109.

754 The *opyr* is born, not made. He, too, has a tail, and his sex organs differ from those of a normal man, for which reason he is infertile and childless.[30] Some hold that he changes his sex every month.[31] A *misiecznyk*, as such a person is called, can be identified much more easily than the witch by his unusually rosy cheeks (*wse w lycy czerwonyj*).[32] Wizards, too, have their individual specialities, and they are especially careful not to encroach upon the spheres of activity of the witches. There are, for example, wizards of hunting, of fishing, and of horses.[33] But just as the witches are particularly interested in harming cattle and in diverting the milk of cows, so the wizards centre their chief attention on the weather. They produce torrents, droughts, hail, and snowstorms. For this purpose they gather raindrops, dew, and water from thawing snow into a vessel, and frost, snow, and storms into a bag or the skin of an animal. If a wizard lets so much as one drop of water from his vessel fall into a river, a torrent or flood follows immediately; if he presses upon his bag, frost and snowstorm ensue. Once, it is said, the wizards kept the sun covered by clouds for seven weeks, as a result of which excessive downpours, crop failure, and famine occurred.[34]

754 789 It is obviously of great advantage to the people to detect a witch or wizard operating in their village. Although they can do so at almost any time, there is no more opportune occasion than the eve of a high holiday. Thus in order to determine whether a suspected woman is really a witch, one method is to steal three chips of wood before sunrise on nine consecutive days. When a fire is built with the chips, the woman, if she be really a witch, will not fail to come to the house to borrow something; however she may beg and entreat then, she should never be believed, because only thus does she lose her power to bring harm upon the house.[35]

[30] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 110-13.
[31] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 230.
[32] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 113.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[34] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 230.
[35] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 281.

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Part II

The White Art: Counteracting Means

The Ukrainian peasant believes that all calamities can be avoided or removed by conjuration, by the use of mysterious concoctions, or by other magical means. Counteracting the work of the Devil and his associates and inducing good luck are the special business of the professional soothsayer or conjuror, but even the ordinary person with no pretensions to extraordinary power can do much in this direction. Without employing the services of a professional conjuror he can, for instance, ward off evil from his cattle, assure himself of good luck in an enterprise, bring harm to his enemies, force a favourable turn in his love affair, foretell the future, and even banish an impending storm from his fields.

Thus in order to protect their cattle from harm, or to alleviate damage already done, on the eve of St. George people fasten brooms on long poles (*wichy*) to their gates as a notification to witches to leave the farmstead undisturbed.[36] The first milk from a cow that has calved is salted and poured into her drinking water. Old horseshoes are scattered around the yard, since it is thought that cattle stepping over them cannot be bewitched. To remove the spell on a cow, she is given a drink of holy water mixed with petals from a consecrated Palm Sunday branch; to make this potion even more effective some sulphur is added. If a cow has been taken sick and the owner does not know the reason thereof, the best thing to do is to "extinguish some coals." The peasant, or the soothsayer in his stead, throws glowing coals into a bucket of water; if they sink, the cow is bewitched. To bring her back to health it is only necessary to spill the water upon a black dog; the malady then passes to the dog, and the cow recovers. So greatly does the peasant fear possible harm to his cattle, that he often refrains from even the seemingly most innocent expressions. Instead of saying, for example, "The milk is boiling," he says "The milk is warming up."[37]

[36] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 124.

[37] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 234-255.

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789
777 The most effective way of assuring oneself of good luck and prosperity is to ally oneself in some way with the Devil. The usual method is to sell him one's soul. A person wishing to do this draws up a formal contract, written with blood drawn from his little finger, whereby Satan is obligated to serve him throughout his life but in return gains possession of his soul after death.[38] One who has entered into such a pact with the Devil can share his benefits with another by selling the latter a lesser devil, who will bring him luck in all his undertakings.[39] A person cannot only buy a devil but also make one for himself. To do so he secures a partly developed egg from the body of a dissected hen and keeps it under his arm for nine consecutive days, even when walking and sleeping, taking care the while not to wash himself or comb his hair and, above all, not to pray. If he observes these rules there will hatch out of the egg a little devil, called *chowanec* (the nurtured), who too will serve him only on condition that he promise him his soul after death.[40] Another way of enlisting the services of the Devil is to stand at a crossways after midnight and call him thrice by name, whereupon Satan appears in person and gives the suppliant a coin (*inkluz*) which always brings him good luck.[41]

Any person, it is believed, can attain to supernatural or extraordinary powers if only he has a strong will, determination and courage, and can hold a secret. Thus one can gain control over hail by stealing a piece of wood from the church and having the priest (unwittingly, of course) read twelve masses over it.[42] A thief, to avoid detection, uses a curious amulet consisting of a human shin-bone emptied of its marrow and filled with candle wax. If he walks three times around a house with such a candle, all its occupants sink into a death-like slumber, and he can steal whatever he pleases with no danger of being caught.[43]

Mastery in any of the arts is attainable only with the help of

[38] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 86. [39] *Ibid.*, p. 86. [40] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

[41] Hnatiuk, V. "Znadoby do halicko-ruskoi demonologii," *Etnograficznyj Zbirnyk* (Lviw, 1904), xv, 255.

[42] Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna*, (Lwów 1902-8, 4 vols.), i, 54.

[43] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

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the Devil. A person desirous of becoming a master builder must rise early on Easter morn, stand on the threshold of his house with an axe in his hand, imitate the motions of one building a house, and say to himself: "I am not greeting the resurrection of Christ but am chopping with my axe." "The priest announces that Christ has arisen, but I say that the foundation beams are laid for a house." He then goes to church, and, when the priest announces "Christ has arisen!" he says: "I am laying the foundation of a house. As great as is this day, so great a master may I be!" With these words he assigns himself to the Devil, who helps him thenceforth to become a real master in his vocation.[44] One who wishes to excel at playing the flute can do so only with similar aid.

Such a person must pay for the instrument as much as is demanded, and, having bought it, carry it home so that no one may see it and bewitch it. Upon arriving home he must dress himself in clothes turned inside out, and then pour brandy or goat's milk into the flute. After closing the instrument tightly, he must carry it to the boundary of two villages, and there bury it where three roads meet. Returning home he must hide himself, so that no one sees him for nine days, during which period he must neither wash, comb, nor pray, but constantly think of the flute, and move his fingers up and down as if playing on it. On the ninth day he goes to get back his flute. Devils await him, playing on flutes and dancing, and the heavenly judges stand to one side and weep. An angel then sits on his right shoulder and a devil on his left; both whisper into his ear until he is forced to follow one of them. When the devils have finally conquered him, they hand him back his flute, upon the condition that his soul belongs to them. After he has emptied the flute of the brandy and washed himself with it, the devils take him with them to instruct him, and keep him until the cock crows, whereupon he becomes a master.[45]

It is within the power of almost any individual to harm his enemies by certain well tested means, almost all of which bear the character of either exuvial or imitative magic. To cause

[44] Szuchiewicz, *Huculszczyzna*, iv, 293. [45] *Idem.*

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789 the death of his neighbour, a person takes water in which a still-born child has been bathed, pours it into a pot, and, after keeping it for nine days, spills it in front of the neighbour's house; whoever first steps on the unclean place will become crippled and die.[46] One who envies another his good fortune, and wishes to see him unlucky, secretly cuts off a few hairs from his head and mixes them with the excrement of a dog; the victim will thenceforth go "the dog's ways," i.e. fail in everything he undertakes.[47] To bring incessant strife upon a household, one does as follows. Observing a fight among dogs, he disperses them, gathers some of the dust raised in the combat, throws it upon glowing coals, and keeps this mixture for a day and a night; if he scatters this around the enemy's house on the following night before sunrise, there will arise among its occupants a struggle like that witnessed among the dogs.[48]

789 832 There are many ways by which a girl may arouse the love of a young man, and have him eventually marry her. One of them is to throw a little salt on him when he leaves the house, in the conviction that he will run after her as a sheep does after salt.[49] Another means is the following. When the young man has left the house, the girl gathers "his footsteps," i.e. the dust from his foot-prints, and puts the dust on the hinges of the door, believing that he will turn toward her as the door does upon its hinges.[50] A still more effective way of inducing a man to marry a girl, namely, by using part of his clothing, is illustrated by the following case.

> Ivan Gajaniuk, a widower, had a maid who was very much in love with him and desired to marry him. With this purpose in mind she went on Pelyp (fasting period) to a famous sorceress known for her wisdom and skill in "bettering" (*lipszyty*). The old woman, upon hearing her wish, told her to come again and bring with her the man's drawers. The maid returned with a pair of underwear, but it belonged to a boy in her master's service. Thus it happened that the boy, and not the master, shortly afterwards married the girl.[51]

[46] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 134. [47] *Ibid.*, p. 135. [48] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 141. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 141. [51] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

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An excellent illustration of the power ascribed to exuviae is the use of sweat to arouse love. Thus a sorceress sometimes mixes a little perspiration from the sole of a girl's foot with some soot from the chimney, and pronounces a formula over the mixture; if the girl pours this concoction into a drink given to a boy, he will surely fall in love with her and soon marry her.[52]

When a person faces a serious situation and wants to be sure that the means employed are effective, he resorts, as in some of the above-cited cases, to a professional sorcerer (*czariwnyk*) or soothsayer (*prymiwnyk*) for assistance. Of these practitioners, mostly women, the most proficient are thought to be the Gypsies,[53] and especially the offspring of a Gypsy and a Ukrainian peasant.[54] A sorcerer or sorceress is never born but made. A woman who wants to become a sorceress must fast for nine consecutive days, abstain from ablutions and prayer, indeed, renounce completely her belief in Christ, and carry an undeveloped egg under her left armpit throughout the period. She must not, moreover, reveal the secret of her power, lest she lose her skill. On her dying bed, however, she should tell everything to another woman, in order to avoid the suffering of a lingering death which would otherwise be her fate.[55]

The sorcerer or soothsayer foretells future happenings by reading the lines of the palm, by extinguishing coals in the manner already mentioned, and by pouring wax upon water and observing the different shapes it takes.[56] To put an end to malicious gossip,

> a soothsayer is called in, and a lock is handed her. She washes the lock in water, brought by the master of the house, walking backward all the way, from an abundant well, and then closes it in order to put an end to the gossip. In case the latter is very menacing, two locks may be washed and shut. Having closed the locks, the soothsayer sweeps all the dirt and dust of the room into the water, and has the inhabitants of the house take off all their clothes and wash themselves with it. Finally she washes the windows too, and then

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[53] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 291.

[54] Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 236.

[55] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 291.

[56] *Idem.*

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191 pours the water with all its dirt (the gossip) out through the window.[57]

789 While the female soothsayer occupies herself mainly with prophesying the future, making love magic, and the like, her counterpart specializes in weather control—in banning hail, thunder, snowstorms, and torrents, and in bringing the rains needed to relieve drought. Even in such cases, however, the ordinary man is far from helpless. Armed with formulas and more concrete means, he can avert a calamity even without the aid of a weather expert. It will be convenient, therefore, to examine the weather lore of the people before turning to a consideration of the professional.

789
787 The layman, first of all, is much given to predicting the weather, which he undertakes with the greatest of confidence, especially at Easter. On this day he forecasts atmospheric changes throughout the year, and these prophecies are not mere pastimes, but are believed in to the extent of letting them determine important economic activities.[58] Work and cattle trading, for example, are done in accordance with these predictions. If it rains on Easter Day, the whole summer will be wet; fair weather foretells a dry summer, and unsettled weather means that in general a good summer is at hand. Aside from these general prophecies the people indulge in more minute predictions on the same day. If fair weather prevails from 1 to 3 a.m., an early and fair spring may be expected, and the price of hay will rise and that of cattle will fall. If the weather is pleasant from early in the morning until noon, then the approaching spring will be fair and the harvest good; if, however, the morning is fair at first but the sky later becomes overcast, the spring will indeed be pleasant, but the time of the maize and potato harvest will be characterized by inclement weather. Further detailed predictions are made from the kind of weather prevailing during the evening and on the following night, and the work in the fields and pastures is planned in accordance therewith.[59]

789 The layman can also, as already intimated, do much to avert hail or relieve drought without calling upon the aid of the weather

[57] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 276. [58] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iii, 8.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

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expert. The simplest means is to toss holy water from an elevated place towards a threatening hail cloud. Another way of averting hail or an approaching storm is to light candles consecrated at Epiphany, or to put an oven spatula and a broom crosswise in front of the door. A further effective way of preventing hail is to take a piece of black cloth which has been used to wrap the feet, light it, and throw it half burned into the open. If this does not help, then the straw upon which someone has died is used instead. The most universal means, however, is the ringing of church bells, specially consecrated for the purpose, for as long as the danger lasts. Individual fields can be insured against hail throughout the year by burying consecrated Easter bread in the corners of the field.[60] An effective annual " insurance policy " can be taken out on Christmas Eve. Among the mountaineers it is the women who are entrusted with this task. After having fasted all day long, they repair with the approach of evening to their gardens and fields. There they walk around with their apron-dresses over their heads uttering their conjuration formulas. Upon their return home they immediately set the table, and, putting upon it their best food, they ask the Hail to enter as a guest, entreating him not to bother them during the year.[61]

The people also know of many ways to bring rain when it is badly needed. The means, once more, range from the simplest to the most complex and elaborate practices. Rain can sometimes be induced by merely plucking some grass with the hand, by overthrowing a cross in the graveyard, or by throwing a poppy-head into a well. Another method is for the woman to refrain from washing clothes in the river, waiting stubbornly for rain. Still another is to kill a rooster on the bank of a river and then throw its blood and head into the water.[62] A curious means for breaking a long drought employed by people of certain villages towards the end of the last century is recorded by Kolberg.[63]

[60] Kaindl, R. F. " Wetterzauberei bei den Rutenen und Huzulen," *Mitt. der k.k. geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxxvii, 625, 628.

[61] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253.

[62] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. geogr. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 639.

[63] *Pokucie*, iii, 122-3.

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789 The village elder, with the aid of his assistants, calls together all the women, old and young, usually on a Sunday, at a certain place, whence they are taken to the nearest lake or river and made to bathe. This is supposed to cause immediate rain. The group of women thus assembled enter the water willingly, or, if they resist, are thrown in by force. There they must stand in their shirts, with the water up to their waists, for a full quarter of an hour. This act is called *baby splawyty* (bathing the women). If it is noticed that any of the women are absent, a trustworthy peasant is sent to the house of the disobedient one to find out the reason for her absence. The only excuses acceptable in this case are absence from the village and serious illness. In the latter case, however, the woman is at least made to urinate and the urine is immediately spilled on the field.

The urine of women, as a matter of fact, is generally held to possess the power of causing rain.

756 789 In order to avert effectively a dangerous hailstorm or an approaching cloudburst, or to end a long-standing drought, it is necessary to secure the services of a professional weather expert. One or more of these men are to be found in practically every village, but not all are considered equally skilful. Those with the greatest repute come from among the mountaineers. Although women are not unknown as weather conjurors, those who excel at the art are usually men. A weather-man of reputation is much sought after and looked up to. His services are in demand over wide territories, and he is well paid and often comparatively wealthy. Travelling from place to place in response to calls, he frequently returns home in the fall with wagons laden with grain obtained for his services.[64]

The weather expert, though versed in all kinds of atmospheric problems, specializes at times in one field, or is at least considered by the people to excel in dealing with one particular kind of phenomenon. The two commonest specialists are the *hradiwnyk* (hail-man) and the *chmarnyk* (rain-man). They are able not only to prevent storms and bring rain but also, if asked,

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to divert the hail or cloudburst to an enemy's field.[65] For this reason they are sometimes looked upon as malevolent persons in league with an evil spirit.[66]

The *hradiwnyk* or *chmarnyk* may control the weather either in the individual case or for the entire year. His methods differ widely, ranging from the utterance of simple formulas to the institution of elaborate ceremonies involving mysterious instruments. Naturally, the more elaborate the means, the more effective the results are believed to be. To avert a hail or a cloudburst the weather expert must have a special wand, called *koszturnik*. This implement is usually fashioned from a limb broken off from a knobby bladder-knot tree, and it acquires its magical potency by being used to separate a frog and a snake engaged in a life and death struggle. Such struggles often occur in the mountainous region in the spring, and are so fierce that the combatants foam at the mouth. Touching the foam endows the wand with mysterious power. Other instruments widely used by weather-men include the scythe, the hatchet, and sharp tools in general.[67]

Conjuration in the individual case, i.e. whenever a storm approaches, is performed in the following manner. As soon as a hailstorm is in evidence, the *hradiwnyk* repairs to the field, where he either undresses completely or else retains only his shirt. He then takes his hat in one hand and a scythe in the other, and utters his formulas, which are intended to divert the hail to a road, a river, a forest, or the field of an enemy.[68] A wand of the type described above, if the weather-man has one, is, of course, more effective than a scythe. Should such a conjuration prove ineffective, the *hradiwnyk* simply presents his hind part to the hail—a last resort which is considered infallible.[69] An approaching torrent or cloudburst, too, is prevented by simple means. As soon as a heavy cloud appears, the *chmarnyk* runs outdoors and diverts the storm in any desired direction by merely pointing with his wand.[70]

[65] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. geogr. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 626.

[66] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 121. [67] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 252, 253.

[68] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. geogr. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 626. [69] *Idem.*

[70] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253.

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789 To banish hail throughout the year the *hradiwnyk* must act
756 on Christmas Eve. He must neither eat nor drink throughout the day, nor must he spit or talk to anyone. Late at night he undresses completely and betakes himself naked to the field. Here he draws various circles with his magic wand and by uttering his formulas, tries to get the hail to appear before him. The hail, naturally enough, does not appear, and this evokes from the conjuror the following address: "As you are not heeding my call now, so may you remain far from us throughout the year!" With this the conjuration for the whole year is accomplished.[71]

756 How does the weather-man avoid blame for his false predictions and ineffective conjurations, which are necessarily very numerous, and how does he manage to hold the confidence of the people? The answer is obvious: he employs the familiar excuses used by shamans everywhere. After performing his act he asserts that the cloud must disappear and that there will be no hail whatever, or, if for some reason the cloud cannot be dispersed, that he is driving it away to deserted places so that it will hail only there. If, however, his art fails, and someone complains to this effect, then he says that he was unable to do anything because he noticed the impending cloud too late, i.e. when it was over and had already left the limits of his sphere of influence, for, if this occurs, there is nothing one can do to ward off hail in that region.[72] Another stock excuse is that "the weather-man of a neighbouring village, may God punish him, has diverted the hail to our village out of revenge." The people believe this, and so does the conjuror himself.[73]

Mention should be made in this connection of the current belief that natural phenomena have a definite influence upon human health. In some localities, when the people hear thunder for the first time in the spring, they throw themselves on the ground and roll around, even though they may be engaged at the time in important work and the earth be muddy. This behaviour is thought to prevent all sorts of aches and especially stomach disorders.[74] In other places, on similar occasions, the

[71] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253. [72] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 123.
[73] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, i, 55. [74] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 234.

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people seize stones and with them beat their foreheads three times, saying: "Stone-head, stone-head, stone-head." This is supposed to make the head as hard as stone, i.e. immune to any ache.[75]

The evil spirits residing in natural phenomena can be a source of danger unless one takes the necessary precautions. When it thunders and lightens, one should avoid walking along the road, and should sit down somewhere at the side, because God is shooting at the fleeing Devil and his arrows may accidentally kill the wayfarer.[76] One should do the same in the case of a dust storm, for its indwelling Devil is likely to harm a Christian.[77] One can lessen the severity of a blizzard (*metylycia*), and cause it to subside, by throwing sharp edged sticks at the driving snow. Falling hail can also be rendered harmless by catching the first hailstones, chewing them, and spitting them on the ground; "the horns of the evil spirit are then chewed off," and the hail loses its harmfulness in that locality.[78]

Part III

Healing by Magic

Disease, like other calamities, is attributed by the people to evil spirits. It is the incessant activities of a multitude of supernatural beings, the people believe, that cause the many afflictions that befall the human body and soul.[79] Epidemic and fatal diseases are personified as supernatural women. The female personification of the plague, according to a popular story, once made a young peasant carry her on his shoulders. Wherever he went people began to die by the thousands. Finally he attempted to get rid of his dread burden by throwing himself into a river. It was he alone, however, who drowned; the plague, being light

[75] Kolessa, F. "Ludowy wiruwania na pidhirju," *Etnograficznyj Zbirnyk* (Lviw, 1898), v, 77.

[76] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 91.

[77] Kolessa, F. *op cit.*, v, 76.

[78] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 234.

[79] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), 160.

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BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATING TO BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD AMONG THE GALICIAN UKRAINIANS

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I. Pregnancy and Birth

Pregnancy, to the Ukrainian peasant, is a phenomenon surrounded by mysterious forces which, if offended in any way, are sure to bring misfortune upon the expectant mother and her unborn child. A pregnant woman is treated with consideration, and is usually showered with wishes for an easy confinement. 843 784 789 A person mistreating an expectant mother exposes himself and his household to harm.[1] In the belief that labour pains, especially acute ones, are not inevitable but are caused by evil powers,

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[1] *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, by G. R. Owst, Cambridge, 1933. P. 99. Reinfelden's Moralization is in MS. Egerton 2419.

[1] Kaindl, R. F., *Die Huzulen: Ihr Leben, ihre Sitten, und ihre Volksüberlieferung* (Wien, 1894), p. 4.

843 784 789 the Ukrainian peasant woman keeps her pregnancy as secret as possible. The Devil and persons with supernatural powers will thus be kept in ignorance and, consequently, be prevented from interfering in any way with her accouchement.[2] The expectant mother therefore avoids mentioning her condition to any one except the midwife. A husband, for the same reason, dislikes to speak of his wife's pregnancy.[3] Some women, especially among the mountaineers (*huzuls*), even wind about themselves a broad strip of woollen bandage, in order to hide their condition. So tightly is the bandage wrapped that it has a definite effect upon the child, which is usually very small at birth; in order to assure its normal development the midwife, upon delivering it, exclaims: "Now grow!"[4]

[847] A child is, as a rule, a welcome addition to the family. Hence an enceinte woman, legitimately married, rarely attempts abortion or infanticide.[5] On the contrary, she is greatly concerned to give birth to a healthy child, and in order to assure herself of this, she cautiously watches nearly every step she takes and strictly observes a variety of taboos. The precautions and taboos, both before and after birth, are based in most cases on the belief that things or actions produce similar results. In other words, certain objects that the pregnant woman may see or touch, certain foods that she may eat, and certain phenomena that she may observe, hear, or feel, will register a corresponding effect upon her child. Wherever, therefore, the consequences are obviously undesirable, a pregnant woman tries to avoid doing or observing the thing in question, or, if this is impossible, to guard against them by certain means which are usually imitative in nature. A few examples follow.

[13] [2] Kolberg, O., *Pokucie: Obraz Etnograficzny* (4 vols., Kraków, 1882–1889), i, 208.

[3] *Idem.*

[4] Szuchiewicz, W., *Huculszczyzna* (4 vols., Lwów, 1902–1908), ii, 2.

[5] Unmarried girls, on the other hand, very often take steps to dispose of their unborn children. Cf. Koenig, S., "Marriage and the Family among the Galician Ukrainians," in *Studies in the Science of Society*, G. P. Murdock (Editor) (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 302–303.

843 If a pregnant woman looks fixedly at a person, or for that
784 matter if he stares at her, her child will be pretty or the reverse,
789 depending on that person's appearance. She therefore tries not to look at or be seen by an ugly individual.[6] She also avoids looking at a fisherman, lest her child will have a restless nature.[7] Neither must she watch a horse shaking its head, or her child will be constantly subject to similar behaviour.[8] If, on the other hand, she happens to see a galloping steed, her pregnancy will last twelve months.[9] Upon observing a mouse, an expectant mother must spit and touch her abdomen; otherwise her child will be born with a mark resembling a mouse on its body. A fire in the village may have a similar effect; if a woman is frightened by it and does not spit immediately, her unborn child will have the mark of a flame on its body. Should a pregnant woman eat an apple at the approach of her confinement, warts are likely to appear on the face of her child;[10] and if the apple be a stolen one, the child will grow up to be a thief.[11]

843 Definite signs enable one to predict the sex of an unborn child. If the prospective mother eats her meals with a good appetite, for example, it is a sign that she will have a boy; otherwise her child will be a girl. According to another indication, if the woman is to have a boy large spots appear on her face before her confinement, but if her face remains smooth and white
844 she is sure to have a girl.[12] The destiny of the child, and even
777 of the parents, can be foretold from certain omens. If birth
787 occurs around noon the child is destined to be unfortunate, while a baby born at daybreak will be lucky.[13] The crowing of a cock during birth is a bad omen. The birth of twins presages disaster, *e.g.*, the imminent death of one of the parents or the

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[6] Kolessa, J., "Narodziny i chrzciny, wesele i pogrzeb u ludu ruskiego," *Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej*, xii (Kraków, 1889) 117; Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

[7] Kaindl, *ibid.*, p. 4.

[8] Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 117.

[9] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

[10] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 1.

[11] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

[12] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 174.

[13] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

844 obstetrical experience. The first act of the *baba* is to give the mother a generous dose of whisky to ease her pains. Then she makes her walk thrice around the table, opening and loosening all closed, covered, or tied objects, such as benches, shelves, closets, and boxes; this has the effect of easing the birth of the child. This done, the midwife takes consecrated wreaths of herbs and holds them over the fire, to fumigate the confined woman with their smoke. If all this fails to have the desired effect, and the delivery proceeds with difficulty, the *baba* runs to the church and begs the sexton to lend her the girdle worn by the priest at divine service; returning home, she winds this about the woman and the child is then born with the greatest of ease.[20]

A woman usually delivers her baby in either a kneeling or a standing position. At times, when the case is especially difficult, she is led around in the room by two women, who grasp her under the arms. When delivery begins, the mother kneels down upon a cover spread out on the floor and deposits the baby upon it.[21] The midwife takes the child as soon as it is born, and holding it head down, beats thrice with the soles of its feet on the centre beam of the ceiling, so that it will grow up as strong as the beam. She then makes the sign of the cross over it, sprinkles some holy water on its head, and gives it a warm bath. If the baby is a girl, she puts into the bath some honey, mint, and other sweet-smelling herbs, so that it may grow up to be a sweet and pleasant girl.[22] The water of the bath is not poured out until the following morning; otherwise "the sleep of the child will be carried out along with it."[23]

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Having dried the child at the fire, bundled it up, and put it on the oven to sleep, the midwife prepares a bed for the mother at the corner of the oven. Under the sheet she puts some hay consecrated with holy water, and on the bar over the bed she hangs a large sheet to separate the bed from the rest of the room. Before the mother lies down, however, the *baba* takes care to tie a piece of garlic on her chest and to place near her, on the

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[20] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 211.

[21] *Ibid.*, iii, 174; Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii

[22] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 175.

[23] Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 117.

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844 bed, a knife and some keys, because iron has the power to
784 drive away evil forces.[24]

789 A precaution never forgotten is to light a candle immediately after the delivery; otherwise the baby, not being baptized as yet, would surely be harmed by lurking evil forces. Under no circumstances must the light be extinguished, at least not until holy water is obtained from the priest and sprinkled over the mother, the baby, and the entire room.[25] Besides this essential precaution, a multitude of other means are taken to protect the child and assure its healthy growth. As soon as possible after birth, for example, there is tied to the right wrist of the infant a little sack, called *szkalytoczka*, which contains the following articles: a piece of garlic—to make the child as sharp as this vegetable; a piece of clay from the oven—to make it as immune to the evil eye as is the oven; a piece of coal—to make the eyes of whoever casts upon it an evil glance burn like coal; some dust from the tracks of a dog—so that people will stare at it no more than they do at a dog's tracks. A small wooden cross is likewise hung on the infant's neck.[26] A mother must not turn her back upon her baby lest it turn yellow,[27] or be taken by a superhuman woman, the *diwa-baba*,[28] in exchange for a brat of hers. Nothing in the house may be given away on the day of birth, or the child will be given to sleeplessness. Whoever takes a glance at a newborn infant must spit immediately—to make sure that the child has not been bewitched.[29] Throughout the first night, some member of the family must keep watch, so that nothing may befall the child.[30]

777 A person's destiny, it is believed, is determined immediately upon his birth, at which moment twelve invisible judges convene on the window-sill near the table. Eleven of them pronounce

[24] *Idem.*

[25] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 5. [26] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 4.

[27] Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 118.

[113] [28] Regarding the nature of this mysterious woman, see Koenig, S., "Supernatural Beliefs among the Galician Ukrainians," *Folk-Lore*, xlix (Sept. 1938), 274.

[29] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, pp. 4–5.

[30] Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 118.